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ABSTRACT

This report discusses the school-to-work transition process of Hispanic youth in Boston. The report was prepared in response to the high rates of unemployment and participation in low-paying service sector jobs by Hispanics and was funded by a grant from the Hispanic Policy Development Project as part of a national effort to identify key public and private sector policy issues affecting Hispanic youth in the United States. The first section defines school-to-work transition and discusses some of the assumptions implicit in this term. It is the case for many Hispanic youth that they do not graduate from high school, thus breaking the transition; furthermore, for many of these youth their entry into the workforce is marked by periods of unemployment or underemployment. The report gives a socioeconomic overview of Hispanics in Boston. This is followed by a section on education and employment, which includes a discussion of racism in Boston and the problems of underrepresentation of Hispanics on the staff of Boston public schools, Hispanic students' dropout rates and non-promotions, a review of bilingual programs, and the experience of Hispanic youth in attempting to make a school-to-work transition in the face of racism. The last section deals with job opportunities and employment and training programs in Boston, including the Boston Private Industry Council, the Boston Compact, and the Tri-Lateral council for Quality Education. The report concludes with a summary, a list of recommendations, and a brief bibliography. (CG)

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HISPANIC YOUTH IN BOSTON:
IN SEARCH OF OPPORTUNITIES AND ACCOUNTABILITY

A report by
The Boston Latino Youth Policy Analysis Project
of the
Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation, Inc.
(HOPE)

October 1984

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Boston Latino Youth Policy Analysis Project (LYPAP) was initiated by the Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation (HOPE) to examine issues of education as these relate to the employment needs of Hispanic adolescents in Boston, Massachusetts. The Hispanic Policy Development Project (HPDP) provided the funding necessary to realize the study. The project is intended to generate discussion of pertinent policy issues among Hispanic community agencies, Hispanic leaders, and the Hispanic community at large. In this sense, this is more a "working paper" which reflects thinking still in the process of development.

Hispanics are a young people at that stage in life where marriage, babies, and household formations consume most of our energy and defines many of the problems which we face as individuals and as a community. Employment and labor force opportunities are central to this dynamic as many in our community assume responsibility for marriage and households in increasing numbers. Many more will enter the labor market in our immediate future as our youth develop families and give birth to the offspring which will swell our numbers even more. As a community, with high unemployment rates and characterized by distorted participation in low paying service sector jobs, we must begin to better understand why and how we are being excluded from well paying secure jobs in the primary sector of the labor market. More importantly, we must begin to understand how to organize our struggle against the policies and programs which

exclude and limit us. This report constitutes, in Boston, our first attempt to examine constructively, and pro-actively the problem of youth unemployment and education.

This report discusses the school-to-work transition process of Hispanic youth in Boston. It examines the experience of Hispanic children in the Boston Public Schools by looking at enrollment trends, the drop-out problem, and on-going policies and plans of the BPS as these affect Hispanic children in the system. This report also examines the Boston Compact which is the major school-to-work preparation initiative currently in operation in the city of Boston and in the Boston Public School system. The report concludes with a series of recommendations.

Our major finding was that Hispanic youth cannot obtain jobs because they lack the education, skills, and training to secure one. This preparation, both in basic literacy and in vocational training or counseling, is inaccessible because of the disproportionate way in which they are dropping out of the Boston Public schools. Hispanics constitute the group with the highest drop out rate in the city. School-to-work transition programs, therefore, which by definition originate in the schools do not work for Hispanic youths because they are not there. We also found that school-to-work programs in the Boston Public Schools, have instituted policies which favor students with high attendance rates and with good academic records. These eligibility criteria discriminate against Hispanic students who perform at levels two-three grades below the norm because of a variety of "structural" factors over which they have little or no control (e.g. inadequate bilingual education instruction, lack of

Title I support services, etc.). Thus, for Hispanic youth in search of job training and employment, being in-school or out-of-school makes little difference as s/he is being excluded from services and programs in both arenas.

Current efforts within the Boston Public Schools to introduce competency-based testing and promotional policies are policies which do not favor Hispanic students and our expectation is that these policies will further decrease the academic performance of Hispanic students in the system and increase the drop-out rates. We do not believe that the policies are not valid or well-intentioned. Rather, our study indicates that they do not address the needs of our Hispanic children. Our children need remedial instruction and support services, and quality bilingual education instruction. Setting standards without the appropriate support services is tantamount to setting our students up to fail and then blaming them for their failure. While Superintendent Spillane has promised support services to complement his competency based and promotional programs and policies, we conclude, in this report, that current funding and political constraints will severely limit the ability of the Boston Public School system to fulfill these commitments.

The problem of Hispanic youth education and employment is of crisis proportions and is one whose impact transcends the boundaries of our Hispanic community and effects the entire city of Boston. The recommendations, therefore, go beyond appeals to Superintendent Spillane and the School Committee to insure that

budget allocations are consistent with the remedial and support service needs of the student population. In recognition of the fact that a large number of our youth have been "pushed out" into the sidelines, the recommendations highlight the need for further study regarding the role which Hispanic agencies have been playing and can play in servicing this population.

This report is the beginning of an on-going dialogue which HOPE expects to continue with interested and appropriate parties.

Introduction

The Boston Latino Youth Policy Analysis Project (LYPAP) was operated under a grant from the Hispanic Policy Development Project (HPDP), as part of a national effort to identify key public and private sector policy issues affecting Hispanic youth in the United States (1). Local projects were encouraged to examine issues related to Hispanic education and employment particularly in reference to the socio-economic, institutional, and political realities of each community and area.

Toward that end, the Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation (HOPE), through LYPAP, proposed: to evaluate the effectiveness of programs and services available in Boston to facilitate school-to-work transition processes for Hispanic youth; and to examine the process and issue of accountability as this relates to the Hispanic community; to the Hispanic agencies in Boston, and to the major local institutions overseeing the delivery of services to youth in the area of education and employment. The intent of the first objective is to assess the degree to which Hispanic youth are being served by government and private sector programs in their search for education and employment. A secondary aim is to evaluate the extent to which policies for these programs served to encourage or discourage Hispanic participation or utilization of services.

This project and report are groundbreaking in Boston and the significance of this should be appropriately recognized. There is little understanding of the problems and needs of Hispanic youth and virtually no data in this area. This report pioneers

efforts to collect information and data on this population in the city and pioneers the first comprehensive examination of the school-to-work transition process for Hispanic youth in Boston. We note, therefore, the "pathbreaking" nature of the findings and discussions contained herein.

This report will begin by defining school-to-work transition; and it will discuss the assumptions implicit in this term ; and it will identify problematic aspects as these relate to the needs of Hispanic youth. A demographic description of the Hispanic community of Boston and the particular configuration of Hispanic youth and their school-to-work transition needs will follow. A description of the major programs and services available to Hispanic youth in Boston is provided as is an analysis of the performance and responsibility of the Boston Public School system in preparing Hispanic youth in the school-to-work process. Particular emphasis will be placed on the retention capacity of the Boston Public Schools in recognition of the major role which the same exercises in preparing Hispanic youth for participation in the labor market. The report will conclude by identifying key issues in school-to-work service delivery for Hispanic youth in Boston and will provide specific recommendations to address the gaps and needs identified.

School-to-work Transition

A conceptualization:

What is immediately evident in the term "school-to-work transition" is that it is a process which originates in the school and whose outcome is employment. What is also evident is that it is a "transition"--therefore it is a temporary state of being during which one passes from one stage into another stage. Public schools are funded to provide all students with the skills and training necessary for entry into the laborforce. This assumption holds true today:

The Boston Public Schools of 1990 must make it possible for the youth of that era and later eras to cope with a world of work, a world which is and will be hostile to persons with minimal skills. New and more technical teaching skills and tools are called for. Unnecessary, outmoded courses must give way to more demanding and realistic educational programs which ironically will require students already to have mastered basic skills. (2)

BPS Superintendent Spillane,
Long Range Plan (1984)

An assumption adopted in this report is that this process of laborforce preparation is one which culminates at the end of the school cycle--upon high school completion. High school graduation and passage into the laborforce is, in reality, an institutional ritual via which the society at large symbolically bestows adult status on the student.

School-to-work transition, then, is the process by which the student is socialized into his/her new role as worker. The move from one role (of student) to the other (of worker) also signals the transition for the individual from a state of economic dependence on one's parents and society to a state of economic

independence with the desired goal being a constructive individual contributing to the economy of the society in which s/he lives.(3)

Limitations of the concept:

What is evident from the above is that the entire process is depicted as the way in which events should evolve assuming all things were held equal and constant. In the real world, things are not always equal or constant and so this continuum becomes a measuring stick against which reality is compared and evaluated. Some of the limitations or discontinuities of this process are ones which a majority in our society share and other discontinuities are particular to special groups, in this case Hispanics.

One of the problems shared by the "many," today, is that of mediocre public school systems. This is best exemplified by the current back to basics movement and "quest for excellence" campaigns unfolding on the national and local arenas. This debate is ample current evidence that there is much room for improvement with respect to the the quality of public school instruction in the United States.

As a large urban center, Boston is no exception and is a city whose school system has suffered long and arduously in a ten year battle for equal educational opportunity and racial desegregation. The toll of that battle has been a demoralized teaching and administrative school workforce faced with declining enrollments, budget constraints, susceptible to political neglect and abuse, and a minority student population which now comprises

over 70% of its enrollment. What is evident from this national debate is that students graduating from schools are not equipped to deal with the demands of contemporary jobs.

What that "quest for excellence" debate reflects is that a high school diploma no longer guarantees minimal competence at some minimum level in specific skill areas. Functional illiteracy is the term used to describe this reality and it is a phenomenon whose affect is particularly evident among low income people, non-english speaking communities, and people of color. What the situation also reflects is a recognition, at a national and public level, that "high school diplomas" or equivalent certificates do not necessarily guarantee competence nor, more importantly, employment. While the latter is something which Black and Hispanic communities have known for sometime, it is a problem which has only recently come to affect sectors of the white middle income majority. As in the case of drug addiction and abuse, the problems of underemployment and unemployment and the questionable value of a high school credential were not problems until they began to affect the middle income sectors of the majority population. As the competition for scarce jobs becomes tougher, so will we experience a shift in the criteria via which one is adequately "qualified" and "credentialed" to be eligible for these positions. Unlike minorities, though, white disenfranchisement is a "temporary" rather than "permanent" phenomenon when it occurs.

Schools when criticized, will defend themselves by labeling certain sectors of their populations as uneducable. While Boston School Superintendent Spillane has argued that "all children can

learn" (4), the Superintendent and the Boston Public School system (BPS) are hard pressed to account for low reading and math scores and the low retention rate of the school system despite systemwide efforts to standardize curriculum and similiar reforms.

The intent of the aforementioned is to broaden the discussion of the variables which affect the school-to-work transition process. To view this process narrowly is to negate the very concrete ways in which forces such as racism and chronic unemployment and underemployment play themselves out for sectors of our society. We know that as new shifts in the economic balance of forces occur, and the need to preserve inequality within the economic order continues, that social ideas must be changed to reflect and "fit" the demands of the new realities. Full employment used to mean 3% of the entire U.S. laborforce was unemployed. Full employment in the 1980's now means that 7% of the laborforce is unemployed. The national tolerance of a higher unemployment level reflects both decreasing employment opportunities and the need for updated social ideas to make this reality more palatable to the American laborforce.(5) Example:

The age limit children must reach...was not raised because ward or city bosses thought education was good for them. It was raised to solve a different problem. As the population increased, a labor shortage disappeared and a labor surplus was created. A time came when the ward bosses found it difficult to keep heads of families employed, let alone their children....Keeping children in school until they reached the age of 16 would defer the problem of finding work for them until the bosses found a way to cope with the problem; and they hoped education might solve it by giving children enough training to find jobs for themselves.(6)

Boston Mayor Michael Curley
(turn of the 20th century)

Racism is a major instrument which facilitates the division of those who will have jobs and those who will not as does the shift toward increased stratification in the U.S. laborforce which preserves the illusion of social mobility. The unemployment and underemployment of Hispanic youth and the availability and lack of availability for job training for Hispanic youth must be discussed within this social and economic reality and within this political context.

Discontinuities for Hispanics in School-To-Work Transition

What has become clear for us in examining this process is that it is a model which does not fit the needs of Hispanic youth in Boston. The major fault does not lie with the model per se but with the reality of Hispanic youth in the city. They are not graduating from city high schools; indeed, Hispanic enrollment decreases steadily as they proceed through the system. Thus, while Boston is touted as having one of the most prestigious and successful models of public and private sector collaboration in the youth employment area, it is nonetheless an initiative which by and large misses the largest growing group of youth in the city and the group which constitutes the greater portion of its future laborforce. The Boston Private Industry Council's "Job Collaborative" school-to-work transition program, for example, selects students for participation on the basis of school attendance and academic performance and student participation goals for all city high school students are determined by the racial/ethnic representation of these groups within the overall

high school population. Minority representation in the summer jobs program of 1983 was 58% Black, 22% White; 13% Asian and 7% Hispanic. (8) The numbers are less impressive when we recognize that the majority of youth are excluded from participation both by program policies which discriminate unfairly against groups not receiving adequate remedial instruction to meet performance criteria and by the tremendous drop-out rate which occurs for these groups as they enter the ninth grade in the Boston Public Schools.

The school-to-work transition initiative, then, services in-school youth "already performing" to the exclusion of those who require remedial instruction to function/perform effectively on the job and in school. Hispanic youth in Boston are present in larger numbers in this latter category and remain, therefore, disenfranchised from a program which by definition targets low-income and disadvantaged/difficult to employ youth.

School-To-Work Transition Revisited:

The reality described above reflects competing tendencies within the school-to-work model and policy which jeopardize even well intentioned efforts such as that of the Boston Compact. What the tension reflects is the need to provide jobs and job preparation for disadvantaged youth on the one hand with the need in the business sector to employ competent functionally literate workers (9). As the pressure to meet the literacy demands of the private sector increases, the possibility of serving Hispanic youth decreases because the bottom line is basic literacy skills and the Boston Public Schools system has been unable to service

this population adequately. Boston Public School efforts to revise curriculum and introduce other reforms to improve the academic performance of its students, part of its half of the agreement signed with the Boston Compact, are in the process of implementation and must be monitored closely to see how they affect Hispanic students.

The Boston Compact represents an approach to linking education and job training which we endorse in principle. However, we have substantial problems with the process by which the compact has been developed. Specifically, the process has not included the people most directly affected....It is important that the linkage between education and jobs be internalized within the school system to ensure the maximum impact on Boston's young people.(10)

Mel King,
Mayoral Candidate (1983)

Our task is to evaluate the particular ways in which this scenario plays itself out for Hispanic youth in Boston. Toward this end, we move to an examination of the quality of life for Hispanics in Boston and to an examination of the ways in which the school-to-work process compliments or contradicts the realities and necessities of this population in Boston.

Hispanics in Boston: A Socio-Economic Overview.

Population growth rates

The growth of the Hispanic community in the United States is a fact which has been well publicized by the media and it has served to send ripples down the spines of more than one publicly elected official and political organization. This growth is due both to continuing immigration from the Caribbean and Latin America and to the particular demographic character of these populations which finds them young and entering the childbearing and family formation stage in increasing numbers. These facts are well documented (11) and the trends have held in the majority of statistical applications and manipulations testing them.

If growth and projections of continued growth remain constant, what studies in this area indicate is that what has changed is the mobility, destination points, and family formation patterns of these groups. In this sense, the Boston experience has been very consistent with the migration flows most closely associated with that of Puerto Ricans on the Eastern seaboard of the U.S.

Thus, while Hispanics were migrating to Boston since early in the century, the major influx occurred in the 1960's and 1970's and reflects both the major immigration thrust of the Puerto Rico's "Operation Bootstrap" development plan of the 1950's and the subsequent dispersal of these populations throughout New England as job opportunities in the city of New York declined further.

Dr. Michael Piore describes the process via which Puerto Ricans are induced to come to Boston in response to the particular labor needs of the city in his work entitled: "The Role of Immigration in Industrial Growth: A case study of the origins and character of Puerto Rican Migration to Boston" (12). His work describes this process of immigration for Puerto Ricans in Boston and is made more worthy by the dearth of information and studies with respect to the arrival and development of the Hispanic community in Boston. Having arrived, though, the Hispanic community has continued to grow and expand in ways which are both similar and different from those of other communities on the Eastern seaboard.

What is immediately evident from an analysis of the 1980 Census statistics on Boston is that the growth rate and projected growth rate for Hispanics in Boston far outpaces general national trends. In a report on the Boston 1980 census, United Community Planning Corporation (UCPC--the planning arm of United Way of Massachusetts) found that Hispanics represented the largest percentage of growth among racial/ethnic minorities in the city (13). The population grew from 2006 in 1960 to 17,971 in 1970 to 36,068 in 1980--a growth rate of 100.5% in the last decade for the city.

This growth rate is conservative insofar as it does not reflect the Hispanic undercount in the census nor the number of undocumented Hispanic migrants in the city. Indeed, data from the Center for Survey Research convincingly estimates the Hispanic population of Boston at close to 55,000. This latter figure would represent a growth rate of nearly 206% between 1970-

1980. Within these numbers, Puerto Ricans represent the largest Hispanic group as a sub-group within the Hispanic population of the city. Puerto Ricans, in 1980, comprise 54% of all Boston Hispanics (14). The growth rate of Hispanics in Boston is shared by other central migration points in the state (such as Springfield, etc.) so that Massachusetts today represents the state in the nation with the fastest growing Hispanic population, trailing Texas and Florida. While the population has doubled in the last decade, we do not necessarily expect that it will double in the decade to come though growth will continue to be high.

Given migration, the "Hispanic baby-boom", and the dearth of reliable data for this population it is difficult to estimate growth rates. By comparing population growth rates over a fixed period of time across racial/ethnic groups, Dr. Camayd-Freixas and Russell Lopez were able to project growth rates beyond 1980 for Hispanics at 43.3%. What this represents is that while the Hispanic population may not continue to double over the next decade or so, it will grow at four times the rate for Blacks and grow at seven and a half times the rate for Whites in the city (15).

We find, therefore, that while demographic projections indicate that the Boston laborforce will decrease by some 7% in the near future for those aged 16-24, a larger share of that laborforce will be comprised of Hispanics and other peoples of color. This led to a practice of hiring non-residents to fill jobs so that nearly two-thirds of the city's jobs are held by people who live outside of its boundaries. This situation has

intensified political struggles within the city with a significant minority population calling for "Boston jobs for Boston residents" (16).

Youthfulness of Hispanics

Another key characteristic of the Boston community is its large youth sector. In Boston, 58% of the Hispanic population is under 24 years of age and 45% are 19 years or younger. This means that the Hispanic population of Boston is younger, as a group, than the national average for Hispanics. This data also indicates that although the Hispanic population of Boston is 10% of the city's total population, Hispanic youth (in the 19 years old and under category) represent 16% of the total population in that age category.

The predominance of Hispanics in the 19 years and under category (45%) means that Hispanic families in Boston have a larger number of children who are of school-age. This is evident in the elementary school enrollments of Hispanic children in the Boston Public School system. Eighty-one percent (81%) of all Puerto Rican families living in Boston have children under the age of 18 as compared to 47% (with children under 18) for all Boston families. Similarly, 50% of the Puerto Rican families are female headed and 25% are headed by females with children under 6 years of age. Of all Boston families, on the other hand, 30% are female headed and only 7% are female headed with children under 6 years of age (17).

Income and Poverty

Indices of poverty among Hispanics are by far the most revealing data. According to 1980 Census information, 41.9% of all Hispanic families living in Boston had incomes which were under official poverty guidelines. Among other groups in the city: 15.7% of White families and 28.6% of Black families had incomes under official poverty guidelines (18). In 1979 official poverty for a family of four was earned income of \$7,421 per year or less. In his report called "Poverty in Boston," published by the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) in 1982, Ganz indicates that over 28% of Hispanic families earn less than \$5,000 per year. Over the ten year period, between 1970 and 1980, Ganz found that incomes measured in constant 1970 dollars for Hispanics living in Boston declined by 18% as compared to a decline of only 8.9% for all persons living in Boston!

In 1980, Hispanic families, at \$11,864, have the lowest mean or median family income in the city. Given the concentration of youth in families and the number of female headed households, Hispanic youth are more likely than other youth in Boston to live in households with incomes under \$10,000.

Table 1

% of all persons under 18 in poverty

	All	Hispanic	White	Black	Asian
State	13.1	48.7	10.8	29.4	16.8
Boston	30.9	54.9	21.7	38.6	28.3

Sources: US Census, 1980; US Dept. of Labor (19)

This problem of "Hispanic youth in poverty" is one which will be compounded by an increase in the birthrate as the Hispanic baby boom unfolds and by persistent levels of underemployment and unemployment for this community (20). Early or late marriage patterns and patterns related to trends in reducing the number of years devoted to child-bearing (as compared to child rearing period) are as yet unclear though research in these areas will bear significantly on our understanding of family and household formation for Hispanics and on how we address the needs and service delivery problems which the particular character of this Hispanic life cycle requires. The research evidence to date is inconclusive and contradictory (21).

Mobility and Permanence

The debate regarding the "permanence" of Hispanic groups and communities in the U.S. is also inconclusive. The quantity and frequency of return migration to the homeland, especially as this relates to Puerto Ricans, is problematic both statistically (in attempting demographic analyses) and in terms of service delivery (e.g. home ownership/homesteading programs, school retention).

There is some indication that stability for Puerto Ricans is increasing. This is reflected at a national level and at a local level (22). In Boston, for instance, the average length of residence is 11 years, a figure especially high for migrants who are relatively new and recent on the Boston panorama (23). It is unclear whether this is reflecting "permanence" or whether it is reflecting bi-polar tendencies: that is, one group which is

staying and others who are quite mobil, with the effect of raising the average of the two (a statistical bias inherent in numerical averages).

Irrespective of geographic permanence, the Hispanic community in Boston is sizeable and contained within identifiable clusters: Jamaica Plain; South End-Lower Roxbury; Uphams Corner in Dorchester; Mission Hill; and Allston/Brighton. What is also true is that it is a community in development within the city, searching for its place and asserting its leadership. The rapid growth of the community and the demands of surviving in a racially divided urban center in an era of declining labor market opportunities are outpacing the ability of community leaders and the Hispanic agencies to deal with the problems and needs of this community. Again reflecting national trends, the leadership in Boston is developing, and maturing. The task is to insure that the deplorable conditions under which most of tomorrow's Hispanic leadership is being reared does not negatively affect the responsibilities which they will have to face and bear. In this respect, the problems of Hispanic youth are of crisis proportions precisely at a time when the national white majority youth population, and therefore national funding priorities, is declining and the white population is located at a different stage of the life-span cycle.

Education and Employment

This report intends to examine these factors comprehensively in two separate chapters to follow, given the significance which they hold for the "quality of life" of Hispanics in Boston.

Suffice it to say that education is broadly viewed by the Hispanic community as the means toward social mobility--an important and necessary, if not completely satisfactory, step toward achieving the American dream.

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT FOR HISPANIC YOUTH

A History of Racism and Neglect

Boston is small for a major urban center and visitors from outside the city often comment on the fact that one can walk virtually the entire major downtown area on foot in one day, and catch all the important centres (government, school, business, etc.). Since the late 18th century, Irish catholics have constituted the majority ethnic group followed by Italians. Residential patterns in the city are sharply divided along racial/ethnic lines with, for example, Irish concentrations in South Boston and Charlestown and Italians concentrating in the North End and East Boston. These three groups are also heavily represented in Hyde Park, Roslindale, West Roxbury, and sections of Dorchester. Blacks and Hispanics share Roxbury, North and Central Dorchester, and parts of the South End, Jamaica Plain, Allston/Brighton, and Mattapan.

This geographic division, a housing and residential pattern which has changed little in the past two decades, is one of Boston's trademarks. Indeed, given gentrification, residential areas for Blacks and Hispanics in the city may actually have decreased and become more concentrated. The housing patterns are mentioned here because they reflect, graphically, the racial tension, division and isolation which the city contains, affecting all of its major institutions and politics.

This is a racial reality made worse by a city confronted with increasing unemployment levels across racial lines and shifting labor-market demands as new industries converge on the

city to replace the long dead harbor and manufacturing industries. It is, nonetheless, a racial reality which is present on a daily basis in the lives of all residents of Boston. Often, it is out-of-towners, who suffer the flesh and blood consequences of this racism when they visit the city and inadvertently cross racial lines: example, group of out-of-town Black students and their teacher visiting the Bunker Hill monument in Charlestown attacked by gang of White youths. More important, is the effect of this on the educational climate of the schools. A graphic description of the climate under which these Blacks and Hispanics went to school is provided by Jon Hillson (24):

It could have been any day that fall. Typical of South Boston now, there was a crowd on the streets...There were schoolchildren as young as nine and ten, parents, and the ever-present knots of unemployed young men. Every day since the opening of school and the beginning of busing, such crowds would swarm on the sidewalks, spilling over the curbs, waiting for those rumbling yellow school buses.

The crowd this day numbered about five hundred. It was an animated, chatting, rambunctious crowd. Some were drinking beer in the sun, which was unusually hot for October (1974). They were all waiting for the buses to come lumbering down the hill from the Patrick Gavin Middle School with their load of Black students--twelve-year-olds.

It was an antibusing demonstration waiting for a target.

Jean-Louis, the maintenance man from Roxbury on his way to pick up his wife at the laundry, stopped for a red light at the intersection of Dorchester Street and Old Colony Avenue. That was where the crowd had gathered, several blocks from the school. It knew the bus route by now and was poised and waiting. Someone in the crowd spotted Jean-Louis. The instant the eyes of the whites met his, the Black man felt a sudden, terrifying awareness of who he was and who they were in the territory called Southie, the neighborhood where they stoned buses.

Andre Yvon Jean-Louis, Black and Haitian, minding his own business, had driven into a crowd of perspiring, angry whites on the prowl. They lacked but one ingredient to become a mob, and he had now supplied that. A shout crackled through the throng: "GET THE NIGGER!"

This is the ugly underbelly of Boston which many politicians and media people in the city would pretend away. The struggle for desegregation has been a bloody and painful one for all involved. The problems regarding access, equality, and quality in education continue to plague the Boston Public School system and still serve to define much of the political debate and struggle within the city.

Hispanic enrollments

According to Boston Public School department statistics, the number of Hispanic students enrolled has increased dramatically from 1,439 in 1967 to 9,152 in the current year. Table 2 lists the numbers and percentages of Hispanic students at BPS from 1973 through 1983. During this period, there has been a steady average increase of 300 Hispanic students per year and Hispanic student enrollment has increased in each of the nine BPS school districts over this time period. Citywide enrollment of Hispanics has increased from 6.5% in 1973 to a current 16.2%.

Table 2

Hispanic Students in the Boston Public Schools

Year	Number	Percent
1973-1974	6,052	6.5%
1974-1975	6,904	8.0%
1975-1976	6,617	8.6%
1976-1977	7,161	9.8%
1977-1978	7,548	10.8%
1978-1979	7,590	11.6%
1979-1980	8,539	12.8%
1980-1981	8,749	13.4%
1981-1982	8,480	14.1%
1982-1983	8,817	15.2%
1983-1984	9,152	16.2%

Source: Boston Public Schools (25)29

Patterns within overall enrollment figures are just as significant. This is demonstrated in Table 3 which shows that from 1979 to 1983 there was an 11.9% increase in the number of Hispanic students, while there was an 11.1% decrease in overall enrollment.

Table 3

BPS Enrollment by Race in 1979-1980 and 1983-1984

RACE	<u>School Years</u>				<u>Change by Race over</u>		
	<u>1979-1980</u>		<u>1983-1984</u>		<u>Five Year Period</u>		
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>-</u>
Hispanic	7398	12.7	8401	16.3	+ 1003	+ 11.9	
Black	27520	47.4	25469	49.3	- 2051	- 7.5	
White	20574	35.4	13859	26.8	- 6715	- 32.6	
Asian	2297	4.0	3633	7.0	+ 1336	- 58.2	
Native American	253	.4	258	.5	+ 5	+ 2.0	
Total	58042	100%	51623	100%	- 6419	- 11.1	

Note: This table should be read as follows: Between 1978 and 1983, there was an increase of 1,003 or 11.9% in the number of Hispanic BPS students. (26)

Of further importance is enrollment by school level. Different from all other racial-ethnic groups, there are more Hispanic students in elementary school grades than middle school grades; and more Hispanics in middle school grades than in high school grades. This concentration is described in Table 4 (below) and further underscored in Table 5 (following page). We find, therefore, that while 19.5% of elementary school students are Hispanic, only 12.1% of the the high school student population is Hispanic. Hispanic students virtually disappear as

they proceed through the grade system in the public schools. The reverse is true for white students: white students increase from 23.7% in elementary school populations to 29.1% of the high school populations.

Table 4

Average Number of Students by Grade

	Hispanic	All Others
1979-1980		
Elementary	733	3836
Middle	637	4593
High School	456	4421
1981-1982		
Elementary	720	3398
Middle	678	4138
High School	500	4356
1983-1984		
Elementary	805	3329
Middle	749	3755
High School	532	3828

Note: The chart should be read as follows: In the school year 1981-1982, there were an average of 678 Hispanic students in each BPS Middle school grade (grades 6, 7, and 8). (26)

Equal Employment Opportunity and the Boston Public Schools

An overview of employment of Hispanics within the Boston Public Schools is provided in Table 6. Although about 15% of all students were Hispanic in 1982-1983, there is no job category in which as many as 12% of BPS employees were Hispanic. The most dramatic example of this discrepancy is the fact that of 489 custodians within the system today, only one is Hispanic. Only two of 109 Department heads are Hispanic, and only two of 123 principals and headmasters are Hispanic.

Table 5

Assigned Enrollment by Race and School Level

	Hispanic	Middle	High
Hispanic	19.5	16.6	12.1
Black	48.9	48.2	50.8
White	23.7	28.2	29.1
Asian	7.4	6.5	7.5
Native American	.6	.5	.4

Note: Table illustrates the concentration of Hispanic students in elementary school grades becoming more pronounced over time. (28)

{EEO and the BPS (continued)}

In some job categories, representation of Hispanics has declined in the period studied. Most notably, Hispanic officials and administrators declined from 2% to 1% over the last decade. And, once employed, Hispanics do not seem to receive equal treatment. Excluding teachers, the BPS (as of March, 1984) pays 461 men more than \$20,000: three are Hispanic. The BPS pays 198 women more than \$20,000: only six are Hispanic. (29)

Table 7 compares the numbers of students by race to the numbers of teachers by race, over a nine year period. In 1975, there were only 34 Hispanic teachers and 6,617 Hispanic students: 1 teacher for every 195 students. Today the situation has improved to the point where there is 1 Hispanic teacher for every 40 Hispanic students. During this same period, however the numbers of white students has been decreasing dramatically. This situation has increased the ratio of white teachers: where

Table 6

EMPLOYMENT OF HISPANICS IN THE BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

JOB CATEGORIES	73-74	76-77	79-80	82-83
Officials & Administrators	2.1%	1.4%	1.7%	.9%
Principals & Ass't Principals	0%	0%	1.1%	1.3%
Elementary Teachers	.8%	1.8%	5.6%	5.7%
Secondary Teachers	.5%	1.2%	3.5%	4%
Other Teachers	.8%	.8%	2.6%	.7%
Guidance	0%	0%	2.2%	7.5%
Psychological	0%	0%	3.1%	11.3%
Librarians, Consultants, & Other Professionals	0%	0%	2.6%	6.2%
Teacher Aides	8.4%	12.5%	9.8%	6.7%
Technicians, Clerical, & Service Workers	0%	.1%	.4%	2%
TOTAL	.9%	2.4%	4.5%	4.5%
Hispanic Teacher Aides as a % of Hispanic Employees	42%	61%	40%	17%

The above figures are taken from EEO-5 forms obtained from the Boston Public Schools. Additional information for 1983-1984 indicates that there are probably tabulation errors concerning Teacher Aides in 82-83.

before there was 1 white teacher for every 8.4 white students in the system, today there is 1 white teacher for every 5.3 white students. The result today is a situation where the percentage of teachers that are white is two and a half times as great as the percentage of students who are white. The reverse is true for Hispanics: the percentage of Hispanic students today is three times as great as the percentage of Hispanic teachers.

Table 7

BPS Enrollment and Employment

	STUDENTS			TEACHERS		
	Hispanic	Black	White	Hispanic	Black	White
1975-1976	6,617 (8.6%)	31,092 (40.6%)	36,244 (47.4%)	34 (.8%)	552 (11.2%)	4313 (87.3%)
1979-1980	8,539 (12.8%)	30,509 (45.7%)	24,654 (37.0%)	208 (4.2%)	871 (17.7%)	3741 (76.2%)
1983-1984	9,152 (16.2%)	27,310 (48.3%)	15,841 (28.0%)	231 (5.4%)	918 (21.6%)	2968 (69.8%)

Source: Boston Public Schools (30)

Significant improvements have been made in the number of Hispanic teachers employed by the BPS. Despite these gains, 70% of BPS teachers are white while 70% of the student population in the system are non-white. We have a homogenous teaching force and curriculum confronting a culturally diverse and linguistically different student population. What is also clear, is that employment gains for Hispanics and Blacks at BPS have slowed over the past 3-4 years. There is increasing need for more effective equal opportunity efforts in an era of declining enrollment and teacher lay-offs to insure that affirmative action gains are not reversed and that they keep pace with changes

in the composition of the student population within the system and keep pace with the instructional and curriculum needs of these groups.

Hispanic retention-drop-out rates

Enrollment and affirmative action notwithstanding, as a group, and despite the long and arduous battles for both desegregation and bilingual education, Hispanics in Boston in the 1980's confront many of the same problems that they did several decades ago. Rhetoric and reforms have yet to produce significant results. The Boston Globe, cites a Division of Employment Security report which indicates that 50% of the Hispanics in Boston do not hold a high school diploma and that 34% of Hispanics over 25 years of age have no high school education at all (31). Statistics on retention rates for Blacks and Hispanics are erratic because information flows are inconsistent and not always available. It is widely acknowledged, however, that they are high and that they increase significantly as these populations enter the ninth grade. Example: in 1983-1984 there were 2046 Hispanics in public high schools. By March of that academic year, a full three months before the end of the term, 306 of the Hispanic high school students had dropped out. A year earlier, 370 Hispanic youth dropped out of the Boston Public Schools of which 330 were in ninth grade or higher. (This figure may not reflect those who just stopped attending and did not bother to officially withdraw.) (27)

Table 8

% of 18/24-year-olds with
no high school diploma

	All	Hispanic	White	Black	Asian
Massachusetts	20.3	59.1	18.5	29.4	21.3
Boston	19.2	51.5	12.6	34.2	27.7

Sources: US Census, 1980; US Dept. of Labor (33)

Table 9

% of 16/17-year-olds
not in school

	All	Hispanic	White	Black	Asian
Massachusetts	8.6	22.2	8.3	9.1	10.2
Boston	11.3	22.0	11.3	10.0	12.3

Sources: US Census, 1980; US Dept. of Labor (34)

Hispanic social service agencies and other alternative community based diploma awarding programs are attempting to fill the gaps for alternative diploma acquisition and preparation services. The G.E.D. classes in these agencies are generally filled to capacity with waiting lists though analysis of their success across agencies has yet to be undertaken. Comparisons regarding retention rates, average length of student participation, and scores with other programs in both community based settings and public school settings are needed and would prove revealing with respect to the needs and service delivery and program design for these populations.

Non-promotions

Clearly related to the Hispanic retention problem is the problem of leaving students behind in their grades--a major contributor to high drop out and low graduation rates for minority students. The non-promotion rate for Hispanic bilingual students in grades 9-12 is 52% and the rate is slightly higher at 55% of all Hispanics delayed in their schooling for all grades, Kindergarten through grade 12 (34). New policies governing promotion are about to be implemented in 1984-85 and we believe they will further jeopardize the Hispanic retention capacity of the Boston Public Schools without adequate support services for these students.

Bilingual Education Programs and Other Special Programs

Bilingual education programs were introduced to improve student access to education by allowing students of limited English proficiency to learn in English and their native language until they attained sufficient English language skills to be mainstreamed into non-bilingual instruction. This would imply that Hispanic students in bilingual education programs would have equal or higher retention rates and academic performance rates than Hispanic students outside of the bilingual education program.

Given the controversy over the quality of bilingual education in the U.S. and the debate surrounding the adequacy of its implementation, this and related issues have been difficult to establish. Boston is no exception and so evaluation of the bilingual education program remains problematic since the basis for such an evaluation, even 10 years after implementation, has yet to be laid. Systematic curriculum for Spanish bilingual education programs have only been developed to grade 4 and criteria for mainstreaming Spanish bilingual education children into non bilingual education classrooms have only recently been developed let alone implemented.

The Bilingual Education Program of the Boston Public Schools announced their intention to employ 36 curriculum evaluators to work on the programs for the Greek, Italian, Asian, and Cape Verdean populations. No curriculum developers or evaluators have been allocated for the Spanish bilingual education component despite the fact that Spanish bilingual education students are

the largest language minority group and represent 54% of all students in the bilingual education programs of the Boston Public School system (35). The drop out rate for Hispanic bilingual program students runs from a low of 48% in 1977-1978 to a high of 59% in 1978-1979.

Finally, it is worth noting that (according to BPS statistics), Hispanics continue to be underrepresented in other special program efforts as well. These include vocational education programs (8% Hispanic); advanced work programs (12%) and special post-graduate programs (4%).

Graduation and Employment

The clearest motivation for high school graduation and further study is what the diploma or training provides for the holder. The Boston Public Schools publishes an "Annual Report on Boston High School Graduates" which is compiled by the Office of Pupil Services. The 1980 graduating class included 217 Hispanic graduates. A sizeable portion of these, 127, went on to post-secondary institutions for further schooling. The success of their endeavors would constitute a separate report though it is widely accepted that retention rates for institutions of higher education in the U.S. among minority students is significantly lower than that of the compulsory public school system. Of the 90 remaining Hispanic students that year, 49 secured employment as semi-skilled and unskilled laborers in secondary job markets: sales, clerical, etc. These are low paying, dead end jobs with little income or career mobility. Thirty-six of the remaining Hispanic high school students were unemployed and did not know what to do.

**School-To-Work Transition:
An Hispanic Perspective on the Boston Experience**

The focus of this study and report is to examine the process of school-to-work transition for Hispanics as this is influenced by Boston's social and economic milieu. We need, therefore, to return to some of the issues raised earlier in this report regarding assumptions implicit in the school-to-work continuum as these relate to the realities and needs of Hispanic youth in Boston.

A key consideration is that it is a process with a supposed beginning and supposed ending. High school graduation is the "benchmark" via which completion of the process is assumed. The learning which takes place in the school years is instrumental in securing employment and in performing satisfactorily on the job. High school graduation is also an indication of psychological maturation and of the readiness of the individual to make the transition into responsible adulthood. As has already been stated, the assumptions of this continuum and concept are misleading for the majority of youth in Boston (36).

The growing dissatisfaction of the private sector with public school education is precisely premised on the fact that the needs of the labor market are changing and that the schools are unable to keep pace with those needs. Indeed, Colin Greer, in her book, The Great School Legend, (37) argues that schools never continue to produce students according to the class stratification and expectation needs of the society. Greer argues that the current uproar over the "quality" or "capacity" of students in contemporary schools is more a reflection of the

fact that these lower-income group students are less and less being able to be accommodated into the laborforce.

Earlier migrant groups have also performed poorly in American schools before but the labor market did not require good oral and written skills for these migrants to secure or access stable, well paying jobs in the unionized sector. Greer posits that in today's market, economic survival depends on literacy skills and credentialing. The discriminatory practice of allocating access to those skills and credentials has now come to be located at the very centre of the American school system.

A similar viewpoint is held in the MDC report, "Institutionalizing the School-to-Work Transition" in which the historical development of ideas regarding the role of public schools in the school-to-work process is traced. That report agrees that the school-to-work debate and the quest for excellence debate are in vogue today because of rising youth unemployment and declining labor market opportunities (38). The report posits the tension between both as two initiatives competing for funding priority under current national fiscal constraints. The bottom line: "What happens to poor kids in the middle income crusade for educational excellence and reform." **Hispanic Employment Opportunities in Boston**

In this country Hispanic students have been taught that if you get schooled and learn to speak English properly, you can get a good job. Our experience contradicts this. Even for high school graduates, the number and quality of jobs is low. Studies have established that the ability to secure full-time employment

is not necessarily related to one's skills, credentials, or English language proficiency (39). In Boston, the number of Hispanic students able to secure full-time employment represented only 22.5% of the 1980 graduates and 16% of these were employed in the sales and clerical positions--low paying, dead end secondary sector positions (40).

The United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission published a statement on opportunity and employment practices of minorities in Boston in January, 1984. In the statement, Mr. Saltonstall, the Area Director, recognizes the racism which continues to affect and divide the city:

We (the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) can conceive of nothing more fundamental to the resolution of Boston's racial divisions than redressing serious employment opportunity gaps which exist for minorities--particularly in positions of meaningful responsibility.

(The report also found that) While minorities made up 29% of the city's civilian labor force in 1980, they represented only 8% of the labor force in the metropolitan area. In no other major metropolitan area was this disparity so great. (41)

Within specific occupations and sectors, the Commission found that the availability and participation rate for minorities within the security/commodity brokers and services was wider in 1982 than in 1970 in both total employment and positions of significant responsibility. The widening opportunity gap was also present in the areas of printing and publishing, communications, food stores, general merchandise stores, and holding and investment companies. Within the sales area, minorities in 1980 held sales positions at a rate 17% higher than their availability within the civilian labor force. The concentration of minorities in all of the lower-paying job

categories was greater in Boston than in any of the other metropolitan areas listed (Atlanta, Chicago, Houston, and Philadelphia). More importantly, though minorities in Boston were better educated than their counterparts in other areas, they were more likely to be in a lower-paying job. It was found that many industries in greater Boston underutilize minorities even within these low paying sales and clerical positions. The conclusion was clear and dramatic:

....Many people in our minority communities cannot benefit from improvements in our educational system until such patterns of employment discrimination are eradicated.

Just as importantly, we hope that this presentation will bring to an end further discussion and debate concerning a non-issue -- that is, whether there is a problem of underemployment of minorities in our community. The problem is real, it is severe, and the time has come to focus our collective energies on its resolution.

Saltonstall, EEOC, 1-16-84

**LABOR MARKET OPPORTUNITIES AND
SCHOOL-TO-WORK TRANSITION PROGRAMS IN BOSTON**

The Labor Market and Hispanics

The intent in this report is to make clear the complexity of the school-to-work transition process for all youth in the 1980's and for Hispanic youth in particular. This is a process which depends on forces which fall both within and outside of the purview of our schooling institutions. Discrimination as a result of gender, race/ethnicity, age, and religion has increased as the competition for scarce primary sector jobs has increased. In Boston, the process has been more intense. We attribute this to the fact that the political machinery and process in the city has been controlled quite tightly and it has been only recently that lower-income groups have both matured and grown in sufficient numbers to begin to pose a threat to that order.

In terms of the new economic sectors for the city, they are concentrated in the scientific and technical areas due primarily to the presence of high technology within geographic proximity. Harbor activity and manufacturing activity, the traditional sources of employment for the Irish and Italians has passed away and these groups moved on to control the jobs in the government. The schools, fire, and police departments became the major employers for them. With declining enrollments, cutbacks in state funding (as a result of Proposition 2 1/2), and new populations to service--these tenured positions have come under attack. Within Boston, the new growth areas in terms of

employment lie in entry level retail sales and other service jobs which offer low wages. The service sector provides services to the professionals and technicians from the areas of health, finance and business services, etc. Unfortunately, these jobs require higher skill levels than those of the present Boston laborforce (42). Thus, these rapidly developing industries have recruited high level technological personnel from outside the city and this process has been facilitated both by the prestigious academic centres which surround the city and by the support which this effort has received from City Hall.

Development in Boston for the last 10-15 years has meant "downtown" development as the city's skyline graphically illustrates. Residential neighborhoods and city services have long been neglected. The renewed interest in "neighborhoods", their services and housing stock, and in revitalizing the schools reflects an interest in improving the quantity and quality of housing stock for these new professionals as well as in providing a "decent and quality" educational system for those children. Indeed, high level personnel recruiters will be the first to confess that housing and the school system are major deterrents in motivating professionals to come to Boston.

All of the above demonstrates that the barriers to employment for many groups are structural and that they go beyond simple remedies of skill training and development. The struggle for influence and control within the Boston Public Schools is real and reflects basic "bread and butter" issues. The disenfranchised sectors need to insure that their children secure the new skill competencies required to insure that they have the

best chance at the new jobs. This means not only access over the school policies and programs but also access to the new networks being constructed via which the opportunities will be channelled. The traditional networks were non-existent and inaccessible to non-whites and are in the process of being redefined for majority sector groups. An examination of current reform efforts underway at the Boston Public Schools will clearly demonstrate this as will a review of the newest initiative in providing school and employment sector links--the Boston Compact.

Employment and Training Programs in Boston

The city of Boston has received national attention for the innovative ways in which it has developed public-private partnerships to solve the employment related needs of its citizens (43). The Boston Private Industry Council (PIC), for example, was used to develop the national Job Training and Partnership Act program (JTPA) (P.L. 97-300). Typically these arrangements have been initiated by the business community and/or the city administration. Federal monies, part of block grants for community development and job training, are then used to contract with these organizations to provide job related programs to the community. Among the public-private organizations are the Boston Private Industry Council (PIC); the Boston Compact, and the Tri-Lateral Council for Quality Education. Other programs in Boston include efforts at the Department of Public Welfare and services provided within the Boston Public Schools and city entities such as the Neighborhood Development and Employment Agency (NDEA). These programs are the major funding sources of

youth employment and training programs in Boston. (Program descriptions are attached as an appendix of this report.)

There are several components which the aforementioned programs have in common with major national school-to-work transition models (44). These are: (1) they form part of a trend of public-private partnership efforts; (2) they service academically successful and performing students (with the exception of the Welfare Department program); and (3) they place clients in jobs which require specialized skills and literacy. The assumption is that students are "job ready"--good students with responsible attendance records on the way out into the world of work--the "cream of the (student) crop." For minority youth, who constitute the majority of Boston's youth, the programs are of little benefit to them. The services are there but unattainable because of policies which exclude them and, therefore, irrelevant to the life situations of many Hispanic youth. Hispanic young people with their limited English ability, low levels of schooling, lack of job experience and staggering drop-out rates do not qualify. PIC staff believe that the focus on "job ready" clients is justified given the limited resources available. Further, this policy is based on a "trickle down theory" of motivation which they follow. This theory holds that better role models will motivate lesser achieving youth to follow in their steps to attain the same benefits. The theory is similarly present in Superintendent Spillane's Long Range Plan and appears to govern much of the thinking governing competency based exams and promotional policies (45). What this theory of

motivation negates is that disadvantaged youth confront a series of structural problems which have little to do with how hard they try to succeed or win.

The programs provide cover for what is a serious unemployment problem in Boston among low-income peoples especially people of color and minority youth. Thus, while the state has an overall unemployment rate of 5.4%; the Back Bay section of Boston (higher income and predominantly white) has an unemployment rate of 3.6% while Roxbury (lower income and predominantly black) has an unemployment rate of 10%. For Hispanics, the figures reveal sub-group and income class differences so that while the overall city unemployment rate for Hispanics is 9.9%, areas in Central Boston and North Dorchester with concentrations of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans have a 15% unemployment rate. (46)

It is not surprising that employment and training policies are not sensitive to the needs of Hispanics or their youth as they were developed by organizations and processes with little Hispanic influence. Hispanic input and appointments have been possible only after much of the planning for these programs has already been completed.

The result of the above planning process has been the virtual exclusion of Hispanic agencies from the service delivery and advocacy role for which they are well recognized in the city. Specifically, the Hispanic agencies are constantly asked to provide services while other organizations receive the funding. The agencies must serve Hispanic youth who constantly arrive at the door despite the absence of funds and strained agency

budgets. In addition, the entire youth employment and training initiative in Boston is left without access to the experience and resources of the agencies serving one of the most important groups of their own target population.

**School-To-Work Transition in Boston:
Preliminary conclusions.**

It is important to acknowledge the efforts of the private sector and their response to youth unemployment. These programs have provided significant jobs for successful youth and that is important. While we recognize the service and job placement needs of these students, we must also recognize the service and job placement needs of Hispanic students who represent a sizeable portion of the city's youth population who require specific educational programs to fill specific needs.

For professionals knowledgeable in the employment and training field and also working with low income youth the gaps in Boston are glaringly evident. The new Mayor's (R. Flynn) own Transition team recognizes that JTPA programs administered through the Boston's NDEA agency, at best, can only service 2-3% of the eligible population in the city. The JTPA programs are not reaching the most economically disadvantaged as welfare clients constitute only 35% of program participants. More revealing perhaps is the number of minorities being serviced--a number which has dropped from 75% to 67% of program participants.

(47)

The Boston Compact effort of the Private Industry Council is designed to skim the "cream of the (student) crop" off of the

public school system in the city. Students are selected by attendance records and academic performance and, again, are selected by school and program staff. Data has yet to demonstrate that the placement rate is significantly higher for these students who, without the programs, would have been among the most desirable within the Boston Public high school graduate pool anyway. The problem does not center around locating employment for already employable youth but centers, instead, on creating employment opportunities, basic skills development, and training for low-income underemployed and unemployed minority youth within the city.

Employment Accountability: The Boston Public Schools

As part of its responsibility in the collaborative effort, Superintendent Spillane has produced a Long Range Plan in which he outlines his ideas and plans. Dr. Spillane acknowledges that the quality of instruction is low, that there is little or no vocational training and that the business skill and equipment training in the system is outdated and obsolete. He regards the expectations of parents and students for "quality education" as legitimate and reasonable and confirms that American schools are the great (social and income) class equalizers. As part of this reform, since Dr. Spillane's tenure, a Code of Discipline has been written and implemented; a core curriculum was standardized for each substantive area and each grade level (implemented beginning 1983-84); and promotional policies have been developed for implementation in 1984-85. Dr. Spillane attributes the low-status image and low quality instruction to "white flight"--a

fact which left the school system with a student body more culturally and racially different than similar and with a population requiring extensive support services across all levels (language programs, counseling, health care, remedial, etc.).

Indeed, Dr. Spillane acknowledges he is hard pressed to explain how a school system which averages \$4,000 per year on each pupil and with one of the most experienced and credentialized faculty around can still have a high school drop out rate of approximately 50%. The student-teacher ratio is at 15-1, among the lowest ratio in years. The feedback on utilization and minority participation of the city's magnificent Occupational Resource Center is incomplete. Dr. Spillane's plans call for restructuring the city's 9 school districts into 5 districts with larger geographic zones. The Superintendant wishes to build an internal feeding pattern within districts to provide continuity for students and staff. In some ways, this new plan would revert the enrollment and feeding process to what it was before the desegregation process though this may not be the problem that it was since the system is now 70% minority--are few white students to integrate with. Sectors of the minority community oppose this plan precisely because it narrows choice and are seeking to convince the School Committee to veto it.

Our task within this report to evaluate the effectiveness of these policies and programs as they would affect the quality of instruction, and implicitly therefore his/her employability, for Hispanic students. With fully one-third of the entire school population in bilingual education programs, there is little mention given to the special needs of these children. Rather,

the intent is to focus on improving mainstreaming mechanisms for bilingual youth because they are staying in the programs longer projected (48). Remedial services and programs in the schools have been cut back as a result of funding limitations. Support services in other areas have long been lacking with only 5 of the current 60 counselors of Hispanic descent.

The expectation, at all levels and sectors, is that the new standardized curriculum, competency based examination processes, and promotional policies will tend only to aggravate the pattern of leaving Hispanic students back. How can students who are not meeting current standards, widely recognized as lower, be expected to meet tougher, higher standards without the appropriate support and instruction.

The promotional policies, as an example, are being implemented next year and are based on attendance and academic performance yet the standardized curriculum on which performance is being measured was implemented this academic year. Dr. Spillane's response--students must know we expect more of them and will rise to meet those higher expectations. While this is true, what is also true is that they must be capable of achieving the expectations set for them. We must not program them for failure and then "blame" them for being "victims." The promise behind the promotional policies is that remedial services will be provided to all students who do not get promoted or who test below the cut-off scores. The reality--currently 25% of the system's 8th grade population fails the state's basic skills test and more are failing the system's newly developed "curriculum-

referenced" tests. The remediation budget which Dr. Spillane is proposing, \$2 million, can not begin to address the needs of all those students who fail (49).

More important is the question of how these policies and programs address the needs of the majority of the school's population--70% minority, one-third limited English speaking, and predominantly low-income. The policies and programs will, inevitably, increase the drop-out rate and will not necessarily increase the standardized test scores of this population. In what ways will the allocation of school resources differ to insure that the appropriate support services are provided?

Given the above, minority parents have long suspected that the intent is to improve schools not because it will help their children but because, in Boston, it will serve to attract white students back into the system--a system which by the end of this decade, by conservative estimates, may well be over 85% minority (50). To date, the curricular policies "blame the student" for his/her poor academic performance as the dollars are concentrated on the better quality student and on school based management devices for the system.

Promises for support and minority affirmative action remain promises with little concrete evidence to indicate that the funds for these will be forthcoming given traditional and current funding struggles between the Boston School Committee and the Superintendant and the City Council and the Mayor (51).

Summary

The Latino Youth Policy project was funded to examine the school-to-work transition process for Hispanic youth in Boston. An examination of this process revealed that school-to-work transition is an "ideal type" continuum which does not apply for Hispanic youth in Boston. The continuum does not apply because it assumes successful completion of high school and graduation into the world of work and adulthood. Hispanic youth are simply not graduating and, therefore, the continuum of the model is broken and disarticulated. The transition to work is marked by leaps from school into work without the necessary preparation at either the education and skill level or the social development and attitudinal level to insure appropriate on the job behaviors. Furthermore, transition into employment for Hispanic youth is characterized by periods of unemployment and underemployment so that a career path or development is not always identifiable as is often assumed by the school-to-work career path model.

The project found that employment of Hispanic youth is a structural problem of institutional exclusion. It is a problem which falls outside of an individual's English language competence and falls outside of skill level and academic credentials since evidence indicates that these skills and resources do not necessarily guarantee a job for Hispanic and Black youth. Structural barriers are evident throughout the process as they operate within the public school system, the origin of the school-to-work process; within the labor market, the destination point; as well as within the school-to-work model itself, where policies which exclude Hispanics prevail.

The systematic exclusion of Hispanics is a situation and problem which is aggravated and made more intensive by the particular way in which it has developed within Boston's political scene and racial experience. As the Hispanic and overall minority population continues to grow, the process must be monitored closely.

It became clear that programs and policies addressing the problem of youth unemployment are perhaps well intentioned, but with respect to Hispanic youth needs, misguided. The policies addressed system needs of low image and status and the need to improve these in the wake of resounding national and local critiques more than they address specific problems of remedial services, support services, and retention of existing populations. School-to-work transition is a comprehensive process requiring both vocational and job related training and basic literacy. Current Boston Compact and Boston Public School programs aim to correct both. In practice, the Boston PIC emphasis is on the vocational effort with little Boston Public School system resources allocated for remedial services to upgrade the latter. This BPS and Compact policy has had the effect of excluding Hispanic students who as a group have had the most difficulty in attaining basic literacy skills and of staying in school. It has set these students up for failure. Hispanic students have been excluded from the Compact program by a criterion which serves to skim only the "cream of the BPS student crop" off of the system as it is a program which does not provide for out-of-school youth or for youth who do not perform well in

school through no particular fault of their own. The effect has been that of a program targeted to secure employment for disadvantaged youth who, in Boston, has missed a significant and sizeable part of its target population. It is with much justification, therefore, that we believe that specific Boston Public School policies regarding competency based exams, promotional standards, hiring practices, allocation of resources, the new districting plan, and standardized curriculums, etc. need to be monitored closely over the next years as they are implemented to determine their effect on Hispanic students.

As importantly, some school efforts are initiatives worthy of our support while they are tested on the field. Programs such as school-based management and the Institute for Professional Development are appropriate and needed. The criticism here, to the extent to which it may be construed as such, is that such efforts must be balanced against other pressing issues and that resources should be carefully weighed and allocated. The debate should not center around whether school-to-work transition efforts for disadvantaged youth are incompatible with the need to improve academic performance--policies which on the surface may appear to oppose each other. Rather, we would argue that these two policy initiatives are not mutually exclusive but symbiotically integrated. Individuals who cannot read or write will never find a job despite the quality and dollars poured into vocational programs. Equally true, even well educated individuals need assistance to locate themselves in a changing labor market. The obstacle is not one of principle but one of appropriate allocation of priorities and dollars.

Accountability: Where to begin.

The operation of structural barriers which lead to exclusion in the schools and in the labor market is not a permanent feature of society which need be accepted as such. "Structure" has a way of sounding more permanent and foreboding than it need be. We want, therefore, to be as clear about what is not being said as we are clear about what needs to be said. Hispanic youth need to be encouraged to go and stay in school despite the fact that credentials and English language proficiency may not guarantee them a job upon completion. Similarly, they should be encouraged to continue job hunting despite the discouraging labor market scene.

Nothing in this report should be construed as meaning that schools and education do not make a difference for Hispanic youth. Indeed, studies such as Hargrove's demonstrate that for minority youth, the schools tend to be the first major contact for that all important first job (52). This results from the absence of minority persons in primary sectors in the labor market to provide access to jobs for minority youth. That absence aggravates the problem of a weak or non-existent jobs network for these populations. Thus, Hispanic youth are more dependent on schools for that job network.

The Hispanic agencies and the Hispanic leadership must also be held accountable for the problems of education and employment of Hispanic youth. We do not want to understate this responsibility and recognize that this project and report comprise an important part of that advocacy effort. The Hispanic

community in Boston has been present in education struggles for over a decade and the work of the "Comite de Padres" in the Boston Public School' bilingual education effort and the electoral campaign of Felix Arroyo and Grace Romero to secure school committee seats demonstrate the level and consistency of these Hispanic community struggles for empowerment and equal educational opportunity. We will continue to be accountable to our youth for they represent the future leadership of tomorrow's struggles.

The emphasis on locating accountability for job skill development and training within the Boston Public Schools reflects the dual reality of low retention rates for Hispanics and the reality of a growing, "school-age" Hispanic population. It also recognizes that future jobs will require skills and credentials which Hispanic youth will find hard to secure outside of the school system and that the schools, for the present, remain the major job network for them. We do not wish to understate the responsibility which we believe the government and business sector should legitimately assume. Successful efforts to address the issue of employment opportunities will reflect this.

Finally, what is less clear about the new private sector initiative of the Boston Compact is the degree to which it has affected the participation of Hispanic agencies in the effort. The Boston Compact and the JTPA which evolved from this experience stands in stark contrast to similiar efforts at employment training such as CETA, and the old Manpower programs in terms of private sector involvement and community based

control. The relationship is almost unilinear: as private sector participation and (economic) support to this youth employment initiative increases the level of community based agency participation decreases. In Boston, Hispanic and Black leaders are present on the PIC Board as individual members. What is evident in studying the process; the configuration of the partners who participate in making policy; and the allocation of functions and dollars, is that little function or dollars have been defined for community based agencies as a group. Though these agencies serve a significant sector of this population in alternative G.E.D. programs, they have no mechanism for sharing those experiences and resources with the Compact or for exploring opportunities of filling alternative training needs as part of the educational component in the effort.

Consistent with our intent to contribute positively to the discussion and solution of Hispanic youth employment and training, we offer steps and ideas which we believe would move us in the appropriate direction.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The commitment to employment of Hispanic youth should begin at the school and government level. There is no justifiable reason why there is only one Hispanic custodian in the Boston Public Schools. Again, this should not be construed as our wish that only these positions be available to our youth. We fully endorse the policy of "Boston jobs for Boston residents" and recommend that both the city and school system live by its dictate.
2. Policies of exclusion and discrimination should not be tolerated by the city of Boston, the state of Massachusetts, or the Boston School system. Former Boston city Mayor Kevin White recognized that he dealt ineffectively with racial issues in the city and that this was a major problem of his administration and tenure. Current Mayor Raymond Flynn and Governor Michael Dukakis have made statements which indicate that the potential exists for an entirely new and different climate within the city and state which may reverse the former direction. We recommend that policies against racial injustice and discrimination be made policies of our currently elected officials and that these be affirmed as circumstances and incidents require them.
3. The city is in the process of developing district youth councils though the process has been slow and underfunded. Boston needs a coherent youth policy and comprehensive design of youth programs to address the specific problems of youth unemployment, drugs, racial disturbances, etc. We recommend that the development of a comprehensive youth policy become a priority of the Mayor. We recommend further, that agencies such as the ABCD, YMCA/YWCA and the Boy Scouts/Girl Scouts should be encouraged to collaborate with such city efforts and assume more leadership in bringing resources to bear on the problems of Hispanic youth.
4. The \$2 million which the Boston Public School system is allocating for remedial services should be reevaluated and we recommend that remedial resource dollars be more consistent with demand.
5. The students in the Bilingual Education Program of the Boston Public Schools represent one-third of its total population. The quality and quantity of resources and allocations to the program and between the different language groups is unknown. Given the significance of this program for Hispanic students, and the number of Hispanics joining the system every year, we strongly recommend that top priority be assigned to an evaluation of the program to determine the degree to which it has been implemented within the system.

6. We recommend that a systemwide "preventative" drop-out plan be developed. Current efforts vary on a school by school basis and are inadequate. The Boston Public School posture should be pro-active intervention rather than reactive remedies. Such efforts may be concentrated in grades 6, 7, and 8--just before the dramatic 9th grade drop out rates begin.
7. We strongly recommend closer collaboration between Hispanic community based agencies and the Boston Public Schools so that the agencies can share some of their own models and successes in the area of G.E.D. preparation and adult education, etc. The expertise of these resources have been underutilized by the Boston Public Schools.
8. Dr. Spillane's commitment to quality instruction should begin by insuring he has access to appropriate expertise and personnel. We recommend, therefore, that he begin by appointing more Hispanic and Black professionals to appropriate policy making levels within his own administration.
9. The absence of Hispanic professionals within appropriate levels of responsibility within the Boston Housing Authority, the BSSC, the Department of Welfare, NDEA, and PIC, is also notable. We recommend that the appropriate public officials respond with appropriate appointments.
10. We recommend that the Boston PIC initiate studies to aggressively pursue a better understanding of how the jobs network can be developed and expanded for Hispanic youth.
11. We recommend that the Boston Public Schools initiate a study of the performance and participation of Hispanic students within its system to identify their needs and to identify policies and programs which may adversely affect them. This initiative should include appropriate participation from the Hispanic agencies, leadership, and community aso as to increase the credibility of the same and increase the effectiveness of strategies and programs developed to address the needs of the Hispanic student population.
12. We recommend that the Boston PIC expand its process to enable Hispanic agencies to collaborate in the policymaking, educational training, and service delivery aspects of the Boston Compact initiative.

CONCLUSION

We recognize that many of the things which we have discussed here with respect to the employment and training needs of Hispanic youth could be generalized to Black youth or Asian youth as their realities share pieces with our own. In Boston, as Hispanics, we hope to continue a tradition of working with these communities to overcome the mutual problems we face.

We also recognize that our findings and conclusions may also appear to stretch beyond the evidence presented for some of our readers. We have shared this document with other educators, advocates, policy experts and leaders outside the Hispanic community to obtain feedback on our own perceptions. Based on that feedback and our own experience of struggle on behalf of the Hispanic community in Boston over many years we believe that this report accurately depicts the crisis which our youth are facing.

This report, as indicated in the introduction, is "pathfinder" in Boston as it is among the first Hispanic community based attempts to examine the issue of Hispanic youth education and employment seriously. Thus, while it may not have laid out a complete model or analysis, it has served to sharpen our own understanding of school-to-work transition of Hispanic youth in Boston and of the complexity of the issues involved in the same. That more concrete analyses of the issues need to be conducted--there is no doubt. This report is, therefore, not to be construed as HOPE's final word on what is a dynamic and evolving process. As we continue the dialogue which we begin with this report, we will continue to refine our own ideas, policy recommendations and actions.

Appendix

Employment and Training Programs in Boston

I. Job Training and Partnership Act (JTPA)

JTPA is the new federal law (P.L. 97-300) that went into effect on October 1, 1983. JTPA replaces CETA, which technically expired on September 30, 1982. Its main purpose is to "establish programs to prepare youth and unskilled adults for entry into the labor force, and to afford job training to those economically disadvantaged individuals, and to other individuals facing serious barriers to employment, who are in special need of such training to obtain productive employment."

Its focus is involvement with the private sector. JTPA intends to tackle the problems of structural unemployment. Forty percent of JTPA funds expended by Service Delivery Areas (SDA's) locally is targeted on youth. The Neighborhood Development and Employment Agency (NDEA) in conjunction with the Private Industry Council (PIC) administers JTPA funds in Boston.

II. Neighborhood Development and Employment Agency (NDEA)

NDEA is a city administration branch which has responsibility for linking the employment needs of Boston residents with the overall economic development of the city. In reference to JTPA services to youth, NDEA has stipulated that the Boston system will not serve 14 and 15 year old youth, concentrating instead on those aged 16 to 21. NDEA and the PIC will not implement any major OJT or exemplary youth programs this year.

III. Private Industry Council (PIC)

The PIC is a business led group functioning in Boston since 1979. The PIC Board of Directors is composed of corporate executives, city officials, and labor representatives. The PIC's primary goal, as defined by Jane Manning (Job Collaborative/PIC Coordinator) is "to provide real work experiences, and the skills to be successful in them, and to enable the city residents for those successful employment experiences."

The PIC has programs both for adults as well as for youth. It provides placement through the Job Exchange, a placement service for people who are "job ready." The PIC has three main youth programs:

(1) Boston Compact

A program launched by the BPS in conjunction with the PIC to improve the city schools, and to provide transitional employment services to highly successful students in their entry to the labor market. This program is institutionalized in Boston, and is currently in its third year. The students with suitable attendance and performance records are selected by school staff and PIC representatives to participate in the Compact programs.

(2) Job Collaborative

The Job Collaborative is the PIC's primary vehicle for the preparation of high school students for employment. It is a career development and job placement service which targets seniors and works closely with the Boston Compact.

Boston Summer Jobs Program

Participants are in-school youth who meet PIC job criteria. Selected students are sophomores, juniors and seniors and they participate in eight week, full-time unsubsidized jobs in private companies or through its "sponsored jobs programs in local non-profit organizations.

IV. Tri-Lateral Council for Quality Education

The main purpose of the Tri-Lateral Council is to improve educational opportunities for Boston Public Schools' students through programs collaboratively planned and operated by Boston businesses, institutions of higher education, and the BPS system. The form and impact of the council varies from one BPS school to another.

V. Employment and Training at Department of Public Welfare

This is a program recently started at the Department of Public Welfare which has services directed to youth: teenage children in AFDC families aged 16-18; and pregnant teenage girls. The program operates through AFDC assistance units. The program is intended to create job and training opportunities for AFDC families so that 40,000 people in Massachusetts are removed from the welfare rolls over a five year period.

FOOTNOTES

Footnote Number

- (1) Hispanic is generally used in media and government publications to refer to spanish-speaking Latin American's residing in the United States though, as Latin Americans, the community often prefers to be called "Latino's." We are interested in reaching a broad audience outside of the "Latino" community and wish to minimize discrepancies regarding the population under discussion. For the purposes of this report, therefore, we will utilize "Hispanic" to refer to "Latino's" and recognize, further, that both terms are limited insofar as they portray a diverse population as one homogenous category. Such treatment, for example, makes difficult a better understanding of the Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, etc. layers which comprise this community in the US.
- (2) R. Spillane, LONG Range Plan {hereinafter referred to as "BPS Long Range Plan" (Boston: Boston Public Schools; May, 1984), p. iii.
- (3) See work of F. L. Mott, The Transition From School to Adulthood (1978). Also see work of R. Taggart, Youth Knowledge Development: The Process and the Product (1980).
- (4) BPS Long Range Plan, p. 3.
- (5) J. Hernandez, Puerto Rican Youth Employment (Univ. of Wisconsin: Mimeo, 1982), p. 58.
- (6) Former Boston Mayor M. Curley as quoted in Institutionalizing the School-To-Work Transition {hereinafter referred to as the MDC report.} (Chapel Hill, No. Carolina: MDC, Inc., 1983), p. 5.
- (7) See MDC report, section on Boston Compact.
- (8) BOSTON WORKS, Private Industry Council (newsletter); November, 1983.
- (9) See MDC report, p. 1.
- (10) King, M., as quoted in Boston Globe, 9-1-83.
- (11) See work of J. Hernandez, Puerto Rican Youth Employment. Also see works by Leobardo Estrada on national trends of Hispanics in the US.
- (12) See work of M. Piore, role of Immigration in Industrial Growth: A Case Study of the Origins and Character of Puerto Rican Migration to Boston (1973).

- (13) See UCPC report, Hispanics in Boston's SMSA. A Demographic Profile (1983).
- (14) Merced, N., School-To-Work Transition of Puerto Rican Youth. (Boston: mimeo, 1983).
- (15) See Camayd-Freixas and Lopez, Gaps in Representative Democracy: Redistricting, Political Participation and the Latino Vote in Boston. {hereinafter referred to as GAPS.} (Boston: A HOPE Report, 1983).
- (16) Boston Works, PIC Newsletter; November, 1983.
- (17) Merced, N., School-To-Work Transition of Puerto Rican Youth. mimeo.
- (18) Boston Works, PIC Newsletter; November, 1983.
- (19) I. Sege, BOSTON GLOBE, 6-4-84.
- (20) As quoted in Merced, N., School-To-Work Transition of Puerto Rican Youth. mimeo.
- (21) See J. Hernandez and NLS.
- (22) For national level trends, see J. Hernandez; for Boston level trends, see Camayd-Freixas and Lopez (GAPS).
- (23) See Camayd-Freixas and Lopez (GAPS).
- (24) Hillson, J., The Battle of Boston (1977).
- (25) Figures for students for the years 1973-1974 through 1978-1979 are for Actual Enrollment (as of November 1) and were supplied by the Department of Management Information Services at the Boston Public School Department. Figures for later years were provided by BPS computer printouts titled, "Analysis of Students by Race by Grade," for Assigned Enrollment (December, 1983).
- (26) BPS printout, "Analysis of Students by Race by Grade: Assigned Enrollment," (December of each year). Figures presented cover grades 1 through 12. Kindergarten is excluded because of changes in funding of this program which determined whether programs would be present from one year to the next--patterns which made statistical analyses unreliable and misleading. Grades 13 and 14 are also excluded because they are "post-graduate" programs beyond our school-to-work interest here (grades 1-12).
- (27) Information is from BPS print-outs, "Analysis of Students by Grade by Race: Assigned Enrollment" (dated December of each year).

- (28) Information is from BPS printouts, "Analysis of Students by Grade by Race: Assigned Enrollment" (March 8, 1984).
- (29) "Systemwide Workforce Analysis by Race, Sex, and Job Classification," BPS, 3-6-84.
- (30) BPS data for students: "Analysis of Students by Grade by Race" (December of each year printout). BPS data for teachers: "Workforce Analysis" and EEO-5 reports for each year.
- (31) BOSTON GLOBE, 3-26-84.
- (32) BPS Long Range Plan.
- (33) I. Sege, BOSTON GLOBE, 6-4-84.
- (34) I. Sege, BOSTON GLOBE, 6-4-84.
- (35) Interview with Carmen O'Connor, Boston Public Schools.
- (36) See work of Osterman, Getting Started: The Youth Labor Market (1980) as well.
- (37) C. Greer, The Great School Legend (1972).
- (38) MDC report, p. 1 and p. 4.
- (39) See work of J. Hernandez, Puerto Rican Youth Employment, mimeo (1982).
- (40) BPS "Annual Report on Boston High School Graduates" (1980).
- (41) EEOC statement by Area Director, T. Saltonstall; January, 1984.
- (42) W. Spring, "Jobs in Boston: The Problem," Boston Works, PIC Newsletter; November, 1983.
- (43) See MDC report.
- (44) See MDC report.
- (45) See BPS Long Range Plan.
- (46) R. Rufo, DORCHESTER NEWS, 5-29-84.
- (47) C. Chauncey, DORCHESTER NEWS, 5-29-84.
- (48) R. Spillane, BPS Long Range Plan, p. 3.
- (49) "BPS Promotion Policy" statement by Massachusetts Advocacy Center; May, 1984.
- (50) BPS Long Range Plan, p. 28.

- (51) K. Scharfenberg, "New School Spending Gap," BOSTON GLOBE, 2-25-84.
- (52) Study by J. Hargroves, "Youth Employment Survey, Class of 1982." Follow-up study conducted by the Boston Public Schools and authored by J. Hargroves.

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